Human Events *A Weekly Analysis for the American Citizen*
Editorial Office 1710 Rhode Island Ave., N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. *Telephone* NATIONAL 2066
VOL. VII, No. 45, *Issue Number* 354, NOVEMBER 8, 1950 ★ *Editor:* FRANK C. HANIGHEN

TITO'S PLIGHT -- DEMOCRACY'S OPPORTUNITY

by Constantin Fotitch

In recent weeks Tito has again entered the world spotlight. Drought and unrest have threatened the stability of this link in the chain around the Iron Curtain.

Secretary Acheson declared that he had received Tito's request for $105 million worth of food and that a part of this relief would be sent at once to Yugoslavia -- the rest subject to approval of Congress. Secretary Acheson imposed no terms on Tito for his help although the U.S. Government almost simultaneously demanded many social reforms of the Philippines in return for financial help.

Is Yugoslavia merely threatened by a "biblical" drought or are Tito's troubles the result of his own policies? And should the U.S. insist that this Communist State meet terms as do our democratic allies?

A severe drought plagued Yugoslavia last summer. It deprived the country of more than 40 per cent of the corn crop, which represents a basic food item, of 30 per cent of wheat, and for lack of fodder compelled the farmers to start a mass slaughter of their cattle.

An array of foreign correspondents visited Yugoslavia and reported that unless rapid and immediate relief was forthcoming from abroad, the country would, in the near future, face mass hunger and starvation -- and eventual Soviet domination.

II

The economic situation of Yugoslavia was desperate even before the drought which, however, did make it more acute. But the effects of the drought have been greatly exaggerated, as pointed out by several recent visitors to Yugoslavia, among them Senator Owen Brewster.

The causes of these critical conditions are much deeper. They are above all, the result of the senseless economic policy of a Communist ruling minority which aims to destroy any free economic activity and private initiative in the country and, particularly, to liquidate the independent farmers who are the economic and political backbone of the country. The regime has embarked on a megalomaniac Five Year Plan for an artificial industrialization. This Plan is supposed to make Yugoslavia militarily strong and economically independent.

Copyright 1950 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Everything has been subordinated to this unattainable objective. In order to buy capital equipment and raw materials from the West, Tito (after the split with the Cominform) recklessly exported food with the result that all the reserves of the country were depleted. Long before the drought people had been reduced to near-starvation rations. The standard of living of the Yugoslav citizens was sacrificed to the Marxian goddess, Industrialization, and of all the countries in the Balkans, Yugoslavia now presents the most miserable picture. Consumer goods are practically nonexistent. Soap, needles, buttons, combs, toothbrushes, razors, etc., are considered the greatest luxuries.

On the other hand, in order to break the resistance of the peasants -- who constitute 75 per cent of the population and are one of the greatest obstacles to the consolidation of Communism -- the regime is imposing the policy of collectivization of the land. By all kinds of pressure it forces the farmers into the Kolkhozes and the secret police carries out the orders for the compulsory surrender of the crops with utmost brutality. The result is the passive resistance of the stubbornly independent farmers who refuse to become the slaves of the regime. Tito himself has admitted that in 1949 there was 11 per cent more of uncultivated arable land than in 1939. The lot of the industrial workers is not much better than that of the rest of the population.

It is not surprising that under such conditions the regime was already deeply shattered and its continuation in power seriously endangered. The correspondent of the New York Times reported from Belgrade on September 23 that "there is already evidence that the nerves of some officials have cracked under the strain and given way to a certain amount of defeatism".

III

In a situation as described above relief sent to Yugoslavia would only temporarily relieve the menace of famine. On the other hand, if assistance is given without conditions, as Tito desires it, it would not remedy the root of the evil, and the misery of the people of Yugoslavia would continue as before.

In a speech in Zagreb on October 29, Tito boastfully claimed: "I can openly state that the United States Government has set no conditions" and then turned his wrath against the "reactionaries" at home and abroad who have "started a campaign urging Americans to impose on him harsh conditions because the Belgrade regime was now trapped in a corner".

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Those whom Tito calls reactionaries are the overwhelming majority of the people of Yugoslavia. They are the democratic and nationalist forces violently opposed to any form of dictatorship -- Titoist or "Cominformist" and they consider the Western Democracies as their natural allies. In case of an armed conflict between the East and the West they would fight on the side of the Democracies as they would feel this their only chance to regain personal freedom and political liberties, firm in their belief that the Western Democracies would not tolerate in the future any kind of dictatorship, even the so-called National Communism.

In this case Tito would hardly be any asset for the Western powers. His boast that he has 32 divisions has been accepted at its face value by some American and British wishful-thinkers ready to forgive his Communist allegiance and despotic rule in the vain belief that this purportedly large army would obey Tito's order. They forget that the bulk of the army is composed of the very same people who have fared so badly under Tito.

Tito pretends now to be a staunch supporter of collective security but collective security means for him the assurance of the protection of the United Nations in case of Soviet aggression. In spite of his alleged 32 divisions he has not sent even a corporal's guard to reinforce the forces of the United Nations in Korea. Moreover, his delegate in the Security Council was the only one who opposed the Council's decision to fight the Soviet-inspired aggression against South Korea. Despite placating interviews Tito now is trying to walk a tight rope drawn between the Eastern and Western bloc. In the United Nations he denounces Soviet aggression but his press still continues its attacks against Western "imperialists and warmongers". He has to be careful of the reactions of his own party which prevent him from taking a stand with the Western Democracies -- but not from asking their aid.

IV

Therefore, instead of sending unconditional relief to Tito, the United States should make this assistance dependent upon fulfillment of certain conditions in conformity with the general policy of the United States to assist those countries which are prepared to fight for their freedom and independence.

Yugoslavia today is not a free country. It is enslaved by a Communist dictatorship which, under the pretext of "building socialism", has deprived the people of all human rights and political freedoms and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the objective of which is to reduce them to the status of mere tools of professional Communist adventurers.

Relief should be sent and distributed under control of the United States or of some agency of the United Nations. Otherwise it would be used for the consolidation of the regime to the detriment of the population as it has been done before in the case of aid sent under UNRRA.

Tito should be requested to restore political rights and personal freedoms so that the people of Yugoslavia may have, at long last, the opportunity to express their opinions and their wishes through free and unfettered elections under the supervision of the United Nations. Tito should also be requested to discontinue the further collectivization of the land which is one of the principal reasons for the collapse of Yugoslav economy.

If the conditions mentioned above were attached to the relief program and were observed, Yugoslavia would become again a useful member of the international community and a faithful supporter of the United Nations and Western Democracies.

Furthermore, the effect of such a policy would have far-reaching consequences among the people in countries behind the Iron Curtain. It would greatly encourage them to resist their dictators and strengthen their determination not to yield to Communist pressure.

To give unconditional assistance to Tito would only bring confusion among those democratic forces which represent a great strength for the Western Allies. It would be inconceivable that an American Government could be satisfied with the word of a dictator who in the past has shown a deep hatred of the West and has violated every single engagement to respect freedom and political rights in Yugoslavia. Countries like Great Britain and France, as well as other Democratic nations with respectable governments, have accepted assistance from the Marshall Plan under specific terms.

It would be a paradox to see a Communist despot impose his own conditions to obtain aid without which he would be engulfed together with his regime.

Constantin Fotitch, author of The War We Lost was the Yugoslav Ambassador to the United States from 1935 to 1944.

Quotation up to a paragraph is permitted with credit to HUMAN EVENTS. For reproduction or more extensive quotation address requests to HUMAN EVENTS, 1710 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Trial subscription, three months for $3. Six months, $5.50. One year, $10. Two years, $18. Domestic airmail (including APO and FPO) one year, $12.00; foreign (regular mail) one year, $11. Foreign airmail rates on request. Please remit in U.S.A. DOLLARS. Allow two weeks for new subscriptions or change of address to become effective.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events Vol. VII, No. 45

LIBRARY

By Frank C. Hanighen November 8, 1950

ELECTION IMPRESSIONS: Despite the reluctance of commentators to say so today, the first clear result is a distinct mandate for a thorough clean-up of subversives in the Executive arm of the Government. Whatever else they showed, voters demonstrated that they gave substantial credence to the charges of McCarthy and others and want something done about it all. The surprising overthrow of Senator Tydings and the big margin given to Congressman Nixon in California offered irrefutable evidence of this directive from the people.

Another well-grounded conclusion is that in those areas where the GOP unreservedly heeded the call of "STAND UP AND FIGHT", they won. The two outstanding cases were in Ohio and Maryland. The picture of the two-year campaign -- thorough, painstaking, well-planned -- of Senator Taft is well known. Not so familiar was the two-month old, improvised, but well organized and, finally, in a truly fiery sense, militant battle to defeat Tydings. In the Ohio contest, it was a fight for the principles and long-standing integrity of Senator Taft; in Maryland (partly because the Republican candidate, Butler, was virtually unknown), it was an "agin" campaign, a shock assault on Tydings who had become the symbol of the Administration tendency to whitewash subversives.

In both contests, a remaking of the Republican party will find a true vade mecum; in both, the managers and candidates tapped real research facilities and expert advice and both followed the maxim -- keep on the offensive, keep the opponent on the defensive. And the directors did not bar holds, nor pull their punches. It would be fatuous (as we fear many Republicans will) to relax in the conclusion that the "fine people" of Ohio and Maryland ("those independent Free Staters") staged a mass uprising. No one who watched either campaign has any doubt that the campaigns would have been lost without the intense and unremitting propaganda effort and constant organizing labor of the two campaign general staffs.

* * * * *

ELECTION WARNING: In the smoky rooms here at 2 a.m. this morning, the militants were rejoicing in the Tydings overthrow, and other victories. But behind them, cooler heads were judiciously seeking to appraise the outcome. What they were saying did not please the militant Republicans. The former were, with much weighing of words, warning:

"These individual Senate victories are all very well, but let's face it. The GOP did not win the Congress, nor even one house thereof. The GOP has not enough potential strength to win a clear national victory by itself. The Democratic Party, with those Southern votes, has a head-start in every election that is too much for the GOP any more to overtake; certainly this must be the case in presidential years. The future of the GOP must rest on some arrangement between like-minded leaders of North and South. It may even be that the South must lead it. It could conceivably be that a Northerner would head it; but tactically it would be better if the candidate were a border-state figure. If the GOP leaders do not seriously ponder this lesson, and act thereon, another great chance will be thrown away in 1952." Dewey, in the jubilation of his Empire State conquest, will not, cannot see this. But there is reason to believe that Taft does, and will.

* * * * *

NEW PROBE: As the final election returns roll in, it is learned that Senator Pat McCarran (flushed with re-election victory) is planning to put before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate (of which he is chairman) a proposal for a wholly new inves-

Copyright 1950 by Human Events, Inc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tigation of the Amerasia case, which involves the State Department. Senator Tydings "handling" of a probe of this particular case was one of the factors which led to his defeat. A great deal of new material -- some of which could end in perjury indictments of famous figures -- is said to be available, should the Judiciary Committee decide to go ahead.

* * * * *

MAN IS MORTAL: With a foreboding that recalls FDR's last agonizing twelve months in office, word is spreading in well-informed circles in the Capital that the President's medical advisers are giving increasing attention to his state of health, and particularly to the possibility of the appearance of circulatory troubles -- a very natural fear in view of Mr. Truman's 66 years. In this connection, it is noted that the President on his return yesterday from Independence, Mo., merely checked in at the White House and went straightway down the Potomac on his yacht "for a week's rest", despite crucial post-election decisions and the over-riding anxiety about the Far East war situation. This trip, it is believed, was urged by physicians. Additionally, those who are pondering the above reports, speculate on the effects on the President of the attempt on his life last week at Blair House. He, no more than any other human being, could hardly have escaped some nervous and psychological repercussions from such an appalling incident.

Our old subscribers may be reminded that HUMAN EVENTS on March 30, 1944 issued a similar warning about the state of health of President Roosevelt.

* * * * *

THE YALU AND BEYOND: The military here take a grave view of the entrance of the Chinese Communists into the Korean war. All sources confirm the story of Constantine Brown (Foreign Editor of the Star) of November 7, to the effect that our forces are so entangled by advancing Communist forces that only bombing of the lines of communications between Mukden and the Yalu river can relieve our predicament. It is felt that perforce the National Security Council will have to allow MacArthur to send his air force on such missions against Red Chinese territory. It is also reported that the State Department is so disturbed that high officials are actually giving consideration to the possibility of calling on Nationalist Chinese forces for aid!

Meanwhile, Acheson is said to be trying to adjust his strategy toward the Hill in the new situation he will face when the 82nd Congress convenes with a stronger and invigorated GOP opposition. It is said he is counting on a behind-the-scenes lobbying drive to split the Republicans, by even greater cultivation of the so-called "liberal bloc" -- that is, Lodge, Mrs. Smith, Wayne Morse, Tobey, et al. This news has gone around and is being discussed by observers on the Hill, who, however, strongly doubt that in the new Congress this Acheson tactic will prove successful. The increased power and prestige of Taft and other Western Senators, often termed "isolationist", may well make such a revolt against leaders highly unlikely for some time to come. Bi-partisanism, at this particular juncture, enjoys little esteem.

* * * * *

CAPITAL NOTES: Mr. Truman's leaders in Congress have a hard row to hoe for the next two years, regardless of the formal Democratic control of Congress. His own party will remain split between Northern and Southern factions, with a sizable group of disgruntled Westerners on the edge. There will be changes to make in the draft law, higher taxes to impose, new controls and restrictions for business and industry, and the matter of trying to put over more of the campaign promises of 1948.

---- The Southern Democratic "revolt" does not foreshadow lessening in the next Congress. While the Dixiecrat movement has largely fallen to pieces through inept leadership and internal dissension, the Southern opposition to Mr. Truman's

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

social welfare proposals, including "civil rights" and socialized medicine, has not abated in the election's aftermath. The Southerners were really elected in their primaries months ago. There is every indication that on vital issues a "coalition" will be in control in both the House and the Senate.

---- Big unionists after two years of tub-thumping have largely abandoned discussion of the Taft-Hartley law as a political issue. But they have not abandoned their stand for repeal, and against revision or amendment. Political action groups of unions dropped all mention of it as their chief issue in the campaign. Reason is that in most states they found more supporters than opponents among industrial workers. But they will continue to seek repeal.

---- Early enactment of an excess profits tax is unlikely as experts of the House Ways and Means Committee begin to delve into its intricacies. Committee hearings will start November 15, probably with Treasury Secretary Snyder as the first witness. Snyder is opposed to this form of taxation, and is expected to express his opposition to the Committee. Treasury experts lean to the belief that this tax is economically unsound, and will contribute strongly to inflation. They prefer a higher corporate income tax, on the contention there is a sharp dividing line among different corporations between what is fair and reasonable profits and unfair and abnormal profits. Rejection by the Committee of an excess profits tax would be a blow to union leaders, who are making it their No. 1 legislative objective.

* * * * *

LITTLE STEEL FORMULA AGAIN? Darkening clouds in Korea present Mr. Truman, in the immediate aftermath of the election, with the biggest "if" he has faced in his tenure of office. If war against Red Korea becomes war against Red China, with the closely related threat of war with Russia, the whole range of economic controls and restrictions in the five titles of the Defense Production Act stand to be invoked almost overnight. The country would move fast into a total war economy. In any event, the long arm of government is about to reach much further into the business of controls.

High economic advisers in government are convinced that something like OPA in the last war, and the Little Steel formula, which served as a curb on wages, must soon be set up. So far the Truman moves have been confined to devices for debt and credit management, with a plea for higher taxes. But now Mr. Truman is coming to grips with the issue of price and wage controls as covered in Title IV of the Defense Production Act.

The Little Steel formula has already been brought out and dusted off, with something that looks very much like another OPA. Whether one thinks they did or did not work before, controls are going to be applied again, very soon. Mr. Truman postponed action until after the election, but clearly his hand is being forced now. Under the growing demands of defense effort, the materials needed for rearmament are becoming scarcer, and wages and prices are moving in an upward spiral.

The Administration is committed to the concept that wage and salary levels cannot be controlled without the concomitant of controlled prices. The Defense Act requires that both be used if either is invoked. The inherent question is where wages and prices are to be pegged. The Little Steel formula held that wages should not rise more than 15 per cent over the base of January, 1941. A similar ceiling was applied to prices. Labor's spokesmen say they will not accept a 15 per cent ceiling again. They insist on a formula in which wages are tied to costs of living, irrespective of price ceilings, and Philip Murray has told his steel workers to strike to obtain the new demand for 15 cents an hour. Steel is the most vital thing in rearmament, and higher costs will open the way for higher costs all along the line. Unless a check can be applied somewhere, inflation cannot be controlled.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Book Events

The Social Crisis of Our Time, by Wilhelm Roepke. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. $3.50. Reviewed by Edna Lonigan.

Professor Roepke has spent over a score of years studying his subject. He makes no attempt to fit his material to the needs of any pressure group or political party -- indeed a novelty these days when men of ideas are either hirelings of the State, or put to silence. But then this book was written in Switzerland, long the home of lost causes.

The author agrees with those who say we are in a crisis that threatens to destroy the achievements of centuries, if not of all Western civilization. But he sees no evidence of any "inevitable trend". He believes that we can reverse the journey to destruction, whenever we take the trouble.

The disease which afflicts us in many forms, is basically, the disease of giantism, or Caesarism; or, as Roepke prefers to say, the cult of the colossal which ends in the ultimate colossus, the totalitarian State. But the collectivist State is merely the end product of forces arising out of Nineteenth Century capitalism itself -- in fact the epitome of those forces. The great weakness in free capitalism was the growth of mammoth enterprises, and the reduction of large numbers of freemen to the status of proletarians, where they had no property they could use for themselves, and depended on being constantly employed by others.

The fatal defect in Nineteenth Century liberalism, as he points out, was the failure to recognize that individual freedom and free competition can flourish only when they have the support of a free political system and strong spiritual roots. "We know today . . . that competition reduces the moral stamina and therefore requires moral reserves outside the market economy."

The idea of free competition is sound, and we must return to it unreservedly, says the author, because there is no third choice between free competition and the collectivist state. Big business and monopolies are only temporary way stations in the descent to total State power. (If businessmen would accept that irrefutable logic, and help restore true competition, we could defeat collectivism in short order.) But -- and here is the author's profound insight into social life -- "Men cannot bear, without excessive harm to themselves and to society, the constant mental, nervous, and moral tension which is forced upon them by an economic system dominated by supply and demand, market and technology, nor can they withstand the insecurity and instability of living conditions which such a system entails."

Roepke's prescription for treatment follows from his diagnosis: we must restore the forms of social life which offer humanly sounder conditions of work and life than the market economy permits. These forms are the peasant farmer (or, what we call the family-size farm), the independent craftsman, the small trader, and the small industrial enterprise. Thus we can support a large part of the population in activities that are close to nature, free from the hazards of the business cycle, and closely enmeshed with the family. Only on such a foundation can we have true political liberty, really free competition, and genuine social security.

Roepke knows that the first step in opposing collectivism is to realize that the conflict of principles is total. We can make no concessions to the collectivist idea of taking care of the proletariat by State-imposed wages, money, social "security", etc., which only reduce the whole society to the proletarian level. We need a blueprint of the steps needed to rebuild the free community.

Roepke points out that we are now harvesting the seeds that were planted in the mid-19th Century; but we are planting the seeds of a world that is coming to birth. We live therefore in one of the most hopeful periods in which men of insight could ask to live.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

European Supplement *to* Human Events

Vol. VII, No. 45

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA LIBRARY RECEIVED NOV 14 1950

By Marion Dönhoff

Hamburg -- November 8, 1950

THE "BROTHERHOOD": A somewhat mysterious society in Western Germany, called the Brotherhood, has been represented by British and American journalists as an important military pressure group. The fact is that few Germans even know anything about it, yet there continue to be false reports in the foreign press that it is a class-conscious organization of former officers, and that certain well-known Generals such as Manteuffel and Speidel are associated with it. It is also said that the "spiritual leaders" of the Brotherhood are agents of the East Zone National Front, because its leaders talk a lot about German unity and a "third force", by which they evidently mean a neutral Germany. They insist that Germans will never shoot Germans, and they are unalterably opposed to the establishment of a large West German police force for this reason. They argue that such a force could not hope to resist an attack from the East, and would therefore only contribute to Germany's total destruction.

Beck-Broichsitter, the head of the Brotherhood asks: "For what purpose is a West German police force to be established? An army without an idea is like a locomotive without fire. For what idea is this forlorn band expected to die? For die it must since it certainly will have no chance of survival in a struggle. Are the men of this 'police force' expected to give their lives for an order which has thrown the world out of balance -- for a European policy which after five years has proven a failure, but which is represented as 'freedom'? Are they to die for the ruin of Western Germany, since they cannot defend it? There would be only one possible slogan for them: Morituri te salutant, Adenauer!"

Beck-Broichsitter's political and spiritual ideas are less clear. They are in some respects typically German in their vagueness. He argues that Soviet aggression cannot be defeated by restorative measures, partial solutions or mere counter-measures, but only by a stronger idea. His idea is, however, not the Atlantic Pact but an independent European Nation, "Europe's own life order". And he says that the way for Germans to realize it, is by reuniting Germany, "removal of the division of Germany".

The Brotherhood includes civilians as well as former Wehrmacht officers. In Hamburg, where Beck-Broichsitter lives, and where the group created a stir a little while ago, less than half the members are former officers. It is led by a three-man "Reichs-Council of Brothers" (Reichsbruderrat), consisting of Beck-Broichsitter, Achenback, and Franke-Grieksch.

The latter has a rather dark past. In 1933 he emigrated to Czechoslovakia with Otto Strasser, whose underground activities against Hitler he organized under the name of Hildebrandt. But in 1938 he suddenly discovered that he had a liking for Hitler, and he supplied Himmler with a list of the members of the Strasser underground opposition. Franke-Grieksch thereupon became a leader (Obersturmbannführer) in the SS, while many of his former associates were sent to concentration camps. For this reason his case is now in the hands of the Public Prosecutor, and it is to be hoped that he will be thoroughly investigated.

Beck-Broichsitter was formerly Chief of Staff of the renowned "Greater Germany" division of the Wehrmacht, (which had nothing to do with Hitler's "bodyguards"), and is undoubtedly a better type. He is an idealist, but this does not qualify him as a politician. He has neither a real political program nor a real organization. He talks vaguely about restoring the honor of the German soldier, about equality, and

Copyright 1950 by Human Events, Inc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

probably quite sincerely about European Unity. His justifiable criticisms and unjustifiable boasting and his generally topsy-turvy ideas stamp him as a political amateur.

The Brotherhood may have between three and four thousand members in the whole of Western Germany. In Hamburg the organization broke up a few weeks ago, because the members had misgivings regarding its somewhat ambiguous political trend of opposition to a separation between Eastern and Western Germany. The Brotherhood as a political power cannot be taken seriously, except by zealous journalists, and is of no importance whatsoever. In any case it would be quite wrong to regard it as in any way representing the former German officers' corps.

* * *

DOCUMENTS OF HUMANITY: In the University town of Goettingen a study circle composed of a number of scientists from Eastern Germany has been formed, under the chairmanship of the former curator of the East Prussian University of Koenigsberg, which collects information on the present situation in the East German territories, from letters and reports and also from Polish newspapers and periodicals. This group of economists, scientists, historians and other expellees, has made an exhaustive study of the agricultural and mining production of this area, and is also trying to preserve for future generations knowledge of the history of anything relating specifically to the annexed East German provinces.

A while ago, on the anniversary of the Yalta Conference at which it was decided to drive 14 million Germans from the lands where they had lived for centuries, this study circle initiated a remarkable experiment. It issued an appeal to the expellees to send in reports and descriptions of any acts of kindness and humanity which they had experienced, or witnessed, in the weeks of terror and misery when they were driven from their homes.

This was an extraordinary undertaking, if one remembers those wintry months when week after week, day and night, an endless stream of destitute refugees filled the roads and lanes of Eastern Germany; when only snow covered those who died from hunger, cold and exhaustion; when a broken wheel meant death, and no one could think of anything but his own misery. Yet a huge number of letters was received, selections from which have been published under the title "Documents of Humanity" by the Holzner Verlag of Kitzingen, Main.

It is very moving to read the enthusiastic response to the appeal of the Goettingen scientific circle by farmers and artisans, as well as the educated, all of whom had tried to overcome the memory of their terrible experiences by recalling deeds of mercy and charity.

One tells of Americans who saved the life of a German from the Sudetenland by rendering unserviceable the automobile in which the Czechs were going to cart him away. Another relates how some young Frenchmen risked their lives to accompany two German women across the frontier. Others tell how French and Belgian prisoners of war led the trek of women and children across the frozen lakes of East Prussia, the German men of the expelled families being far away under arms or prisoners of war. Another relates how Frenchmen cut their blankets in half and pushed them through the wall of a Russian prison to half-frozen German women. There are accounts of faithful Polish servants, and of Polish farm laborers who tried to help the Germans, and of Polish prisoners who succored the victims of Yalta. There are also stories of the kindness of individual Russians and Czechs.

Most of the incidents recalled were small acts of kindness and many were of moral assistance only. But at that awful time even a human gesture was appreciated as much as material assistance.

The fact that so many people were able to overcome their terrible experiences by remembering acts of individual kindness, offers more hope of real understanding

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between nations than many a magnificent international conference. For it is only individual experience which has the power of conviction. We must prevent the man-made barriers of this world from once again dividing the people. The readiness of so many people to break the cycle of hatred, revenge and retaliation is the most hopeful portent of our times.

* * *

PEOPLE'S POLICE IN THE EASTERN ZONE: The first authentic and detailed reports have now been received concerning the organization and strength of the Eastern German police. A clear overall picture can now be formed from thousands of little details collected and supplied by deserters and agents.

The figures, although frightening enough, are not the worst aspect. The most terrible thing is the introduction of the Soviet commissar system. The fact that the majority of the people's police are young men who were 15 or 16 years of age when the Nazi régime ended at the war's close and who have known nothing but dictatorship, intensifies the threat.

For years they were almost the only young people who were well fed and clothed, and their only spiritual education has consisted of a daily two-hour dose of political instruction. It would therefore be an illusion to think that the troops will be unreliable.

Even if there are some discontented and unreliable elements they have no possibility whatsoever of organizing for joint action. Insurrection and mutiny in the ranks of the people's police is out of the question; the Soviet commissar system and the "spies" see to that. Every unit has a Soviet officer in German uniform who is called the "assistant to the leader". In each police school, and in each section, there is a "liaison officer", or commissar, who is directly responsible to the leader of the GPU in the Soviet Zone. However, these official spies, who can be recognized as such are not the most dangerous.

The unknown spies are far more dangerous and each commissar has some of these in his unit. The commissar of the company has his agents whom no one knows, not even the commissar of the batallion. And these two commissars do not know all the spies of the regimental commissar. The result of this system is that no one can trust his neighbor, and the formation of a resistance movement is, therefore, out of the question.

A so-called "sea police" -- read: navy -- is also being formed. An "air police" -- read: air force -- is to be established early next year. The combined supreme command, called "Staff of Leaders" is housed in Potsdam. The supreme German Command post is the HVA (Hauptverwaltung für Ausbildung -- Chief Administration for Training) in Adlershof, a suburb of Berlin. This is, so to speak, the War Ministry of the Soviet Zone. It controls five groups spread all over the zone, each of which is commanded by a former Nazi general. They all have their own direct telephone and teleprinter lines to the HVA in Berlin.

The People's Police, housed in barracks and trained on military lines, numbers at the moment 70,000 men. It is to be increased to 130,000 men by the beginning of next year, the final figure aimed at being 400,000. The ordinary police in the Eastern Zone numbers 180,000 men.

At the higher police schools, each able to house a regiment, the men are trained with German and Russian made arms. The tank units are trained with Russian T34 tanks and German "Tiger" tanks.

At the moment use is still made of officers and generals of Hitler's army who have been "re-educated" in Russia. There is, however, no doubt that they will be disposed of (probably in the usual fashion) when reliable successors shall have completed their training. For years young hand-picked German Red Army men who

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

never served in the old German Wehrmacht have been intensively trained -- politically as well as militarily. In the near future the first 300 regimental and batallion commanders, whose training has just been completed, will leave the police schools and be commissioned.

* * *

DECLINE WITHOUT PROLETARIZATION: Within the German Federal Republic, Schleswig-Holstein is the Land which has had to take the most expellees relative to its original population. The number of inhabitants has risen by nearly 70 per cent, as compared with figures of 1939, and it has over a million expellees. Here also the first sociological analysis of these 1.1 million unfortunates has been made, a matter of great public interest, in view of the fact that every fifth inhabitant of the Federal Republic is a refugee from the East.

In their homeland 26 per cent of the expellees were engaged in farming or forestry. Of these 72 per cent worked on their own account as farmers and foresters, gardeners or fishermen. Today, including the members of the families helping them, the percentage of those who have been able to start work on their own account again is only 3.7 per cent. Before the flight from the East, 39 per cent of the employed (Beschaftigten) were workmen; today the percentage is 71. Naturally, the unemployment among the expellees is widespread. On an average every fourth refugee in Schleswig-Holstein is unemployed, and in some districts the percentage is as high as 40.

A huge reshuffling of the population has taken place, without, however, the social decline leading to proletarization. Consciousness of their former status as citizens and farmers has obviously been stronger than their present miserable condition in forming their outlook. The refugees certainly do not prove Karl Marx's thesis that man's economic situation determines his political and social consciousness.

Although 41 per cent of all refugees, i.e., 450,000 of them, are living in disgraceful conditions, for the greater part still in crowded camps and huts, without even any bed linen, none of them think of voting Communist. They do not even vote Socialist; on the contrary, they have founded a party of their own in Schleswig-Holstein, which, starting from scratch, has become the second largest party in the province.

* * *

STRANGE CASE: At the end of October Fritz Hartmann, the former Chief of the German Customs Control post at St. Gingolph, was tried by a French military court at Lyons. He was accused of having shot a number of Frenchmen in July 1944 as a reprisal action following an attack on the German post. The President of the Swiss community of St. Gingolph declared that it was not Hartmann, but the SS, which had carried out the retaliatory measures, and that Hartmann had enabled the Swiss fire brigade to enter the burning part of the village, and had seen to the evacuation of the population of St. Gingolph to Swiss territory. In the course of the court proceedings, it was proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that Hartmann was not guilty, and the case was dismissed.

Was it necessary to keep an innocent man in prison for five years in order to conduct inquiries? The Swiss President of St. Gingolph would certainly have recalled the facts quite as well five years ago as he does now. Hartmann's is not the only case of this kind. Today, five-and-a-half years after the end of hostilities, 500 German prisoners of war accused of war crimes are still anxiously awaiting their trials. Can one no longer learn what humanity is from the creators of "humanité"?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED